the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: "These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!" But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajos "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in [224] isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucu. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire- [415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be [323] made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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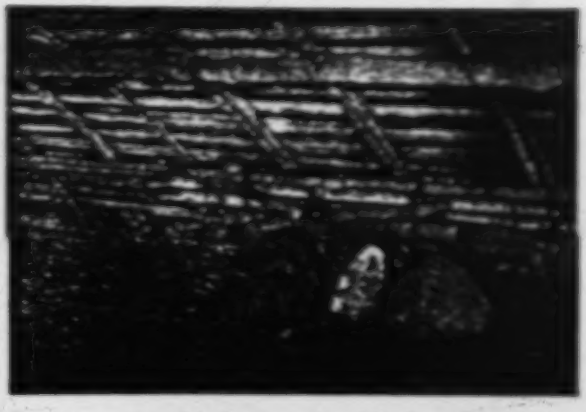

a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karikó*. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 380 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination. 462 476

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipití; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- 477 462 476 [415]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or [476] group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were